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# Physical environment and daily life in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, Poros

## The bioarchaeological remains. Introduction

### Abstract

The section below contains reports on bioarchaeological remains recovered in the excavations in Areas D and C in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, Poros, between 2003 and 2005. The excavations were directed by the late Berit Wells within a research project named *Physical Environment and Daily Life in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia (Poros)*. The main objective of the project was to study what changed and what remained constant over time in the everyday life and in both the built and physical environment in an important sanctuary of the ancient Greeks. The bioarchaeological remains, of a crucial importance for this type of study, were collected both by means of traditional archaeological excavation and by processing extensively collected soil samples. This text aims to providing the theoretical and archaeological background for the analyses that follow.\*

**Keywords:** Kalaureia, Poros, Greek archaeology, Poseidon, sanctuary, bioarchaeology, animal bones, charcoal, seeds, molluscs

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### General

The Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia on the present-day Poros Island (*Fig. 1*) was first excavated in 1894 by two Swedish archaeologists, Sam Wide and Lennart Kjellberg at a time when major Greek sanctuaries, such as those in Olympia, Delphi, and Delos, were also being excavated, producing rich finds, monumental architecture, and beautiful objects of an-

cient art. The finds from Kalaureia were far less spectacular, as the sanctuary had functioned as a stone quarry during the centuries that had passed since its abandonment in antiquity. The cutting and transportation of building blocks from the site was witnessed by early travellers to the site.<sup>1</sup> Thus very little architecture and almost no sculpture survived for Wide and Kjellberg to recover. Obviously disappointed, they left the island and never returned.<sup>2</sup> The excavations were published in the scientific journal of the German Archaeological Institute, through which the permit for the campaign had been obtained.<sup>3</sup> In the late 1930s the architecture of the site was restudied by the German scholar Gabriel Welter.<sup>4</sup> After the late 19th century when the first excavations took place and up to the 1970s the site of the sanctuary was occupied by a farmstead, and the open spaces in between the ancient buildings of the sanctuary were cultivated.

Although the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia had been widely discussed in archaeological and historical studies,<sup>5</sup> very little was actually known about it besides its architecture and the scant information that could be found in literary and epigraphic sources. Investigations of the sanctuary were resumed in 1997 by the then director of the Swedish Institute at Athens, Berit Wells, and her team of collaborators.

The work commenced by evaluating the potential of the site for future excavations, clearing up the extensive debris of the earlier excavations and the scrubby vegetation that covered much of the site. Excavation on limited scale within Building D was conducted in 1999 and 2000, with more sys-

\* *Acknowledgements:* We wish to thank the numerous individuals who contributed to the results presented here during the field and study seasons, as well as the staff of the Poros Archaeological Museum and the West Attica, Piraeus and the Islands Ephorate of Antiquities; no one named, no one forgotten. The Kalaureia Excavation Project was always a team effort that speaks, not with one voice but with many. We would also like to acknowledge the efforts of the anonymous reviewers of the papers, the editorial staff of this journal, and last but not least, those of Dr Robin Rönnlund and Dr Anton Bonnier, whose plans greatly enhance the final result.

<sup>1</sup> For early travellers to Kalaureia, see Wells *et al.* 2003, 32–33.

<sup>2</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 33–35; Berg 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Wide & Kjellberg 1895.

<sup>4</sup> Welter 1941.

<sup>5</sup> For a review of earlier research, see Wells *et al.* 2003, 30–32.



Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Sanctuary of Poseidon in 2016. Photograph: Kalaureia Excavation Project.

### Editorial note

The section on the bioarchaeological remains from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, published in the *OpAthRom* 12, includes seven articles: this contribution by Arto Penttinen and Dimitra Mylona; Mylona 2019; Serjeantson 2019; Lymberakis & Iliopoulos 2019; Syrides 2019; Ntinou 2019; Sarpaki 2019. Summary of chronological phases (presented below):

Abbreviation	Phase	Chronology	Area	Comment
EIA I	Early Iron Age	c. 750 BC	D	Fills of Features 07, 08, and 09 (three pits). Fill underneath Early Iron Age building.
EIA II	Early Iron Age	c. 750–700 BC	D	Floor accumulation in Early Iron Age building.
A I	Archaic	7th century BC	D	–
A II	Archaic–Hellenistic	6th century–Hellenistic	C	Construction of Wall 24.
			D	Remains from outdoor activities. Feature 05 (supposed altar).
A III	Archaic	c. 500 BC	C	–
			D	Construction of Stoa D and Features 03 and 04 (interconnected cisterns). Feature 10 (kiln).
A IV	Archaic	after c. 500 BC	D	Life span of buildings constructed during A III.
C I	Late Classical/Early Hellenistic	c. 325 BC	C	Construction of Building C.
			D	Construction of back part of Building D, including Feature 06 (staircase), Feature 01, and Feature 02 (unknown, altar?).
C II	Late Classical/Early Hellenistic	after c. 325 BC	D	Finds in the dirt floors of Building D.
H I	Hellenistic	c. 165 BC	D	“Dining deposit” west of Building D.
H II	Late Hellenistic/Early Roman	c. 50 BC–c. AD 100	D	Fill of Feature 03 (cistern). Finds from trench against Wall 11, which exposed Wall 33.

tematic research beginning in 2003, as one part of a three-year research project, titled *Physical Environment and Daily Life in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia (Poros)*, and funded by the Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.<sup>6</sup> Excavations were conducted in and around Building D, where the investigations in 1999 and 2000 had proved the existence of intact archaeological strata, and to a somewhat more limited extent in the adjacent Building C (Fig. 2). The immediate results of the fieldwork were published in consecutive reports in the scientific journal of the Swedish Institute at Athens.<sup>7</sup> The articles in this section present the bioarchaeological finds (bones, molluscs, charred seeds, wood charcoal) which were not included in previously published reports.<sup>8</sup>

Excavations in the sanctuary were continued within the framework of another research programme, also funded by the Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, *The Sea, the City and the God*, between 2007 and 2012 (Fig. 3).<sup>9</sup> The results presented here have, to a certain, but small, degree, been revised based on results of more recent studies.

## Methodological issues

Among the objectives of the research project was to use all the data generated by archaeological excavation to reconstruct the “physical setting” of the sanctuary, in the restricted scale of the sanctuary precinct itself but also more broadly on the island of Kalaureia, one of the two islands that comprise the present-day Poros, and the nearby Mainland.<sup>10</sup> It must be emphasized here, however, the setting of the sanctuary was not perceived as something neutral, or as a mere background to human activity, but viewed as something people engaged with (and still do) socially and economically, or on



Fig. 2. State plan of the sanctuary after the conclusion of the excavations in 2012. By R. Römlund.

a symbolic level, being part of it, in a constant negotiation of roles and meanings.<sup>11</sup> In this context, “physical environment” and “everyday life” cannot be viewed as two separate issues, but rather as two aspects of the same process, that of experiencing the presence of gods in the sanctuary. Hence the second objective of the project was to focus on the different ways gods, humans, plants, and animals relate to each other at any given time in the sanctuary’s history, changing roles as they move between different domains, i.e. the wilderness, the cultivated fields or the pastures, the market, the sacrificial altar, or the setting for a sacrificial feasting.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Now named The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences. Project reference number: K2002-0994:1.

<sup>7</sup> Wells et al. 2005; 2006–2007. For the results of the preliminary investigations in 1999 and 2000, see Wells et al. 2003.

<sup>8</sup> Reports on some other categories of finds from the excavations in 2003–2005 will be published forthcoming.

<sup>9</sup> Penttinen et al. 2009. Project reference number at the Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences: M2006-0814:1-PK.

<sup>10</sup> For the notion of “setting” or else “locale” see Evans 2003, 29. The framing of the work on bioarchaeological remains on Kalaureia within the current discourse on the archaeology of the environment that is summarized here was first discussed in Mylona et al. 2013.

<sup>11</sup> The discourse developed around ecological anthropology, specially the notions put forward by Tim Ingold (2000) are particularly relevant here.

<sup>12</sup> The use of bioarchaeological remains in the investigation of past cultic practices is an important issue but little theorized so far. For a recent attempt towards such an approach see Livarda et al. 2018.



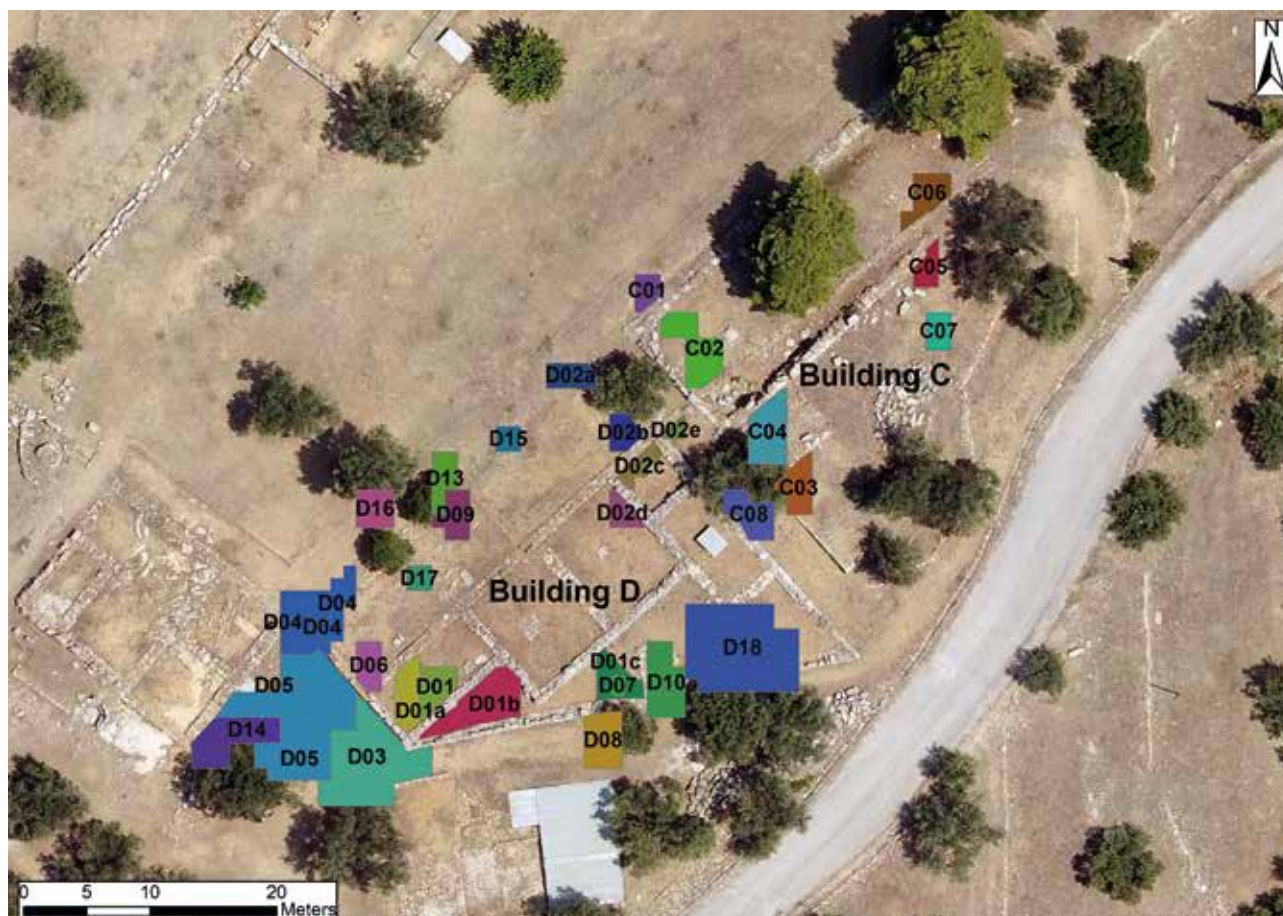


Fig. 3. The excavated areas in Buildings D and C in 2003–2005. By A. Bonnier.

The goals above place the research project in line with current theoretical debate in the fields of both environmental archaeology<sup>13</sup> and ancient Greek religion. Both have in recent years undergone a process of introspection and redefinition of their scope and purpose. This challenged us to take a position and find ways to bridge the materiality of an excavation in an ancient sanctuary to the current theoretical discourse. Because all bioarchaeological remains under consideration reflect choices and processes on the part of the people who frequented the sanctuary, these reports place more emphasis on issues of economy, consumption, waste disposal and cult, and less on the actual reconstruction of the physical environment within the sanctuary or in the area around it. However,

in each report presented here, the issue of the physical environment is introduced to a smaller or larger degree.

The basic research question, which related to the nature of the physical environment and everyday life in the Sanctuary of Poseidon but also the state of preservation of the site, dictated the field methods adapted during the excavations as well as the subsequent processing and analysis of finds. The objective was to “find” the people who visited the sanctuary and to understand both the repeated and the unique actions that shaped the sanctuary as an archaeological feature. To implement this certain “modern” methodologies which supplemented the standard methods of archaeological excavation were adopted.

The documentation strategy aimed at collection and safe storage of all information needed for the reconstruction of the depositional history of the site. Therefore, digital survey technologies were used both for the acquisition of data and for their integration with Geographical Information Systems (GIS). GIS software provided a useful environment for storing, managing, processing, and visualizing the information gathered during the field campaigns. Such a tool allows the

<sup>13</sup> Attempts towards a history of environmental archaeology (e.g. Evans 2003) illustrate the multitude of theoretical influences on it while debate over the identity and purpose of environmental archaeology (Albarella 2001) tangibly demonstrates the relevance of the discipline to broader developments in archaeology.

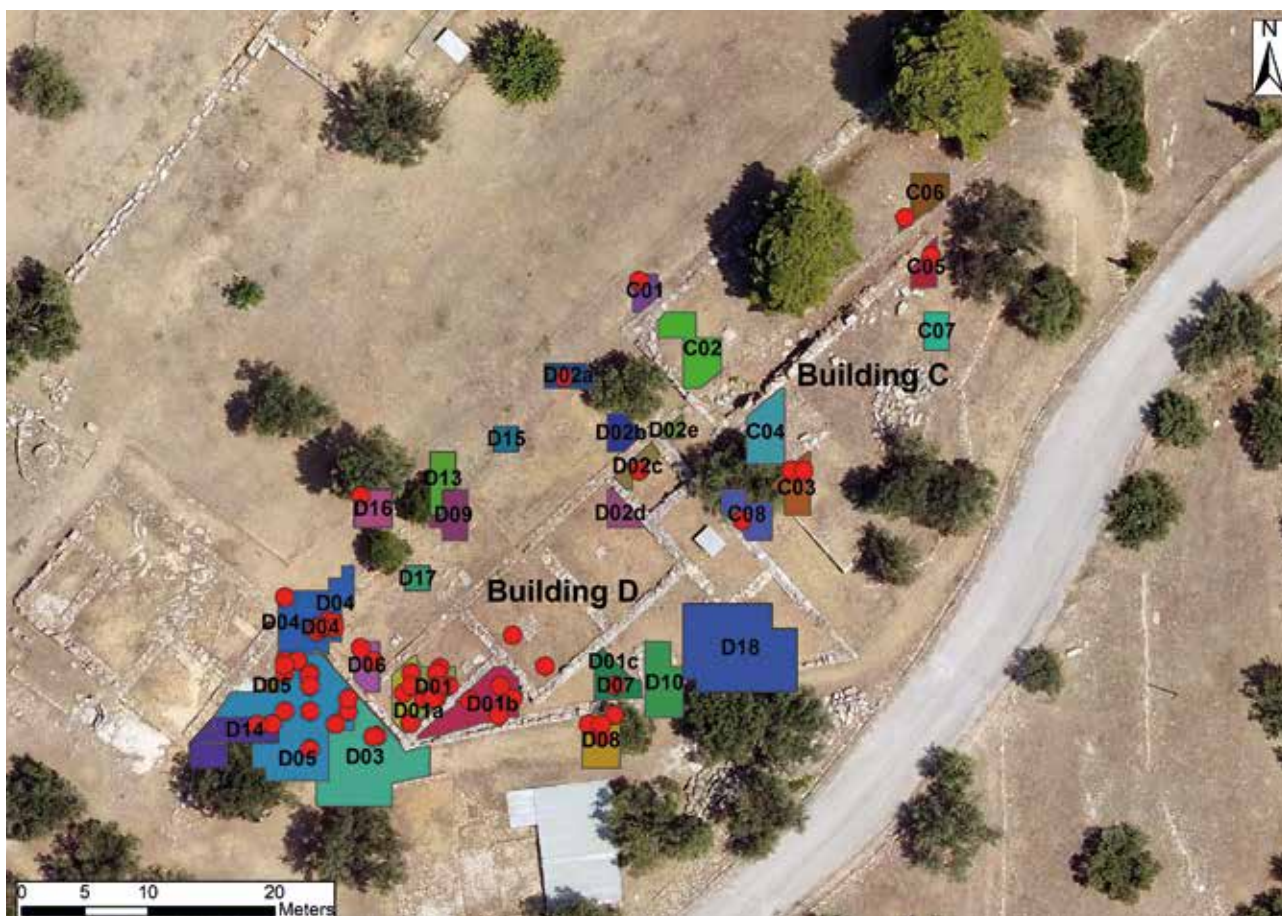


Fig. 4. Locations of the water-flotated samples in Buildings D and C. By A. Bonnier.

integration of data of different types and formats (CAD drawings, photographs, tables), simplifies access to the data, and offers a powerful visualization tool that can be used to illustrate the distribution of all archaeological data.<sup>14</sup>

As the study of the physical environment and the daily life in the sanctuary was the main objective, an emphasis on retrieval and analysis of bioarchaeological remains was an obvious choice. Such methodology is by now common in prehistoric excavations in Greece but still not very much so in excavations focusing on sites from the historical times. A systematic soil sampling strategy was implemented (Fig. 4) by taking soil samples from all archaeological deposits, except those disturbed in modern times. Samples of at least 20 litres were taken from a variety of deposits from both of the excavated areas C and D. In all, 91 soil samples (1,759 litres of soil) were collected, following a combination of random and targeting sampling strategies. More specifically, in areas where ar-

chaeological deposits were found undisturbed, soil samples were taken from each excavation unit, occasionally even several within each space. Specific features, such as hearths, drains, and pits cut in bedrock were intensively sampled. The processing of soil samples, water flotation and sorting of residue, coarse float and fine float, along with the systematic hand collection of finds during excavation resulted in the collection of a very large amount of bioarchaeological remains. The resulting reports that are published here do not all follow the same standards and protocols of publication, and this reflects to a large degree the different background of the individual researchers: some are archaeologists specialized in the analysis of bioarchaeological remains and others are biologists, who focus mostly on the physical aspects of the material. As a result, the degree of interpretation and integration of remains is uneven too. We chose to embrace this variety, which is not unique to the Kalaureia project and which presents challenges that can be quite instructive and fruitful, by seeking

<sup>14</sup> For details on the documentation strategy see Emanuel Savini in Wells *et al.* 2005, 129–135.



alternative ways to achieve contextualization and interpretation of the findings.<sup>15</sup>

## Area of Building D: an outline of stratigraphy and chronology

As can be expected, the stratigraphy in a sanctuary that was in continuous use for hundreds of years has been largely generated by repeated organizations and reorganizations of the sacred space. Construction activity at the site was especially intensive during the Late Archaic period and again towards the end of the 4th century BC. At those times earlier debris was obviously cleared out or reworked, while construction fill was at times brought into the sanctuary in order to create even ground. It is of course not possible to conclude how much of the construction fills was brought in to the sanctuary from elsewhere, but given the vast amounts of it especially in the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic period, we suppose that some of it was. Some deposits were obviously created by the construction activity itself or by related activities. It is these types of events that eventually created the built environment of the sanctuary as well as changes in it. It is our conviction that traces of such activities in a sanctuary are easier to find in slowly accumulating deposits of refuse, among bioarchaeological remains of meals once consumed or for instance in minuscule fragments of charcoal that remain of firewood once brought in to the sanctuary.

In broader terms, the depositions of materials recovered in the area of Building D have been organized into phases. By phases we mean phases of activities which can be temporally defined either in the stratigraphy or in relation to the architectural remains at the site. The phases are presented below in an order that attempts to be chronological, but they are not to be understood as mere chronological phases. Some of them lasted hundreds of years, while others consist of an activity at one particular point in time. Some of them also overlap. Ascribing various strata and deposits to the phases described below has not always been a clear-cut procedure. In many cases this has been based on the general character and the relative position of a stratum, as well as on the date of the majority of the finds, whereas some of the phases can only be defined in the sequence of architectural remains at the site.

### THE EARLY IRON AGE (FIG. 5)

Except for the prehistoric remains, which cannot at our present knowledge be set in connection with the historical sanctu-

ary at Kalaureia,<sup>16</sup> the earliest stratified deposits in the area of Building D or in the sanctuary in general belong to the late part of the Early Iron Age. The phase designated here as EIA I comprises deposits of materials in three pits cut into bedrock around 750 BC (Features 07, 08, and 09), and in the fill underneath the Early Iron Age structure excavated in Area D01 in 2003. The deposits are interconnected and can be characterized as a single occurrence as fragments from the same vessels dating from the Late Helladic IIIC to c. 750 BC were found in each one of them. Berit Wells considered the depositions inside the pits as an indication of “consciousness of the past and an effort to link the present to that past” when a new building was being constructed above the pits.<sup>17</sup> The taphonomy of the animal bones found in the pits suggests that some type of, perhaps ritual, activity took place in conjunction with the deposition of the materials.<sup>18</sup> The floor accumulation in the particular building has been defined as phase EIA II. As this is a dirt floor, it accumulated over time as refuse was stamped into it. The phase has been dated to c. 750–700 BC on the basis of the pottery fragments found in the stratum that defines it.

### THE ARCHAIC CENTURIES (FIG. 6)

Finds datable to the 7th, 6th, and the early part of the 5th century BC point to continuous activity in the sanctuary throughout the Archaic period. They have been divided into four discrete phases: A I, an accumulation of materials datable to the 7th century BC; A II, a horizon of outdoor activities that starts in the early part of the 6th century and continues in parts of the area into the Hellenistic times; A III, a construction phase in the decades around 500 BC; and A IV, a horizon of activities inside the buildings constructed in the preceding phase.

The earliest Archaic phase, A I, is defined by a stratum excavated in Area D01 between remains belonging to the preceding phase EIA II, and the stratigraphical horizon, which has been designated A II. The character of the deposit is somewhat unclear, but the finds suggest a deposition date in the 7th century BC.<sup>19</sup>

The next Archaic phase, A II, is a wide stratigraphical horizon that was found both underneath Building D and to the west of it. Associated with the horizon are Walls 30, 31, 32, and 34 which form the earliest Archaic terrace walls in the area, and a free-standing structure, Feature 05 (Fig. 7), immediately to the west of the later Building D.<sup>20</sup> They have been

<sup>15</sup> For a deliberation on these challenges see Mylona *et al.* 2013.

<sup>16</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 41–49. Further remains of the Late Bronze Age settlement were recovered in excavations in 2010–2011.

<sup>17</sup> Wells 2011, 214; see also Wells 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 69–71; Mylona 2019.

<sup>19</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 80.

<sup>20</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 71.



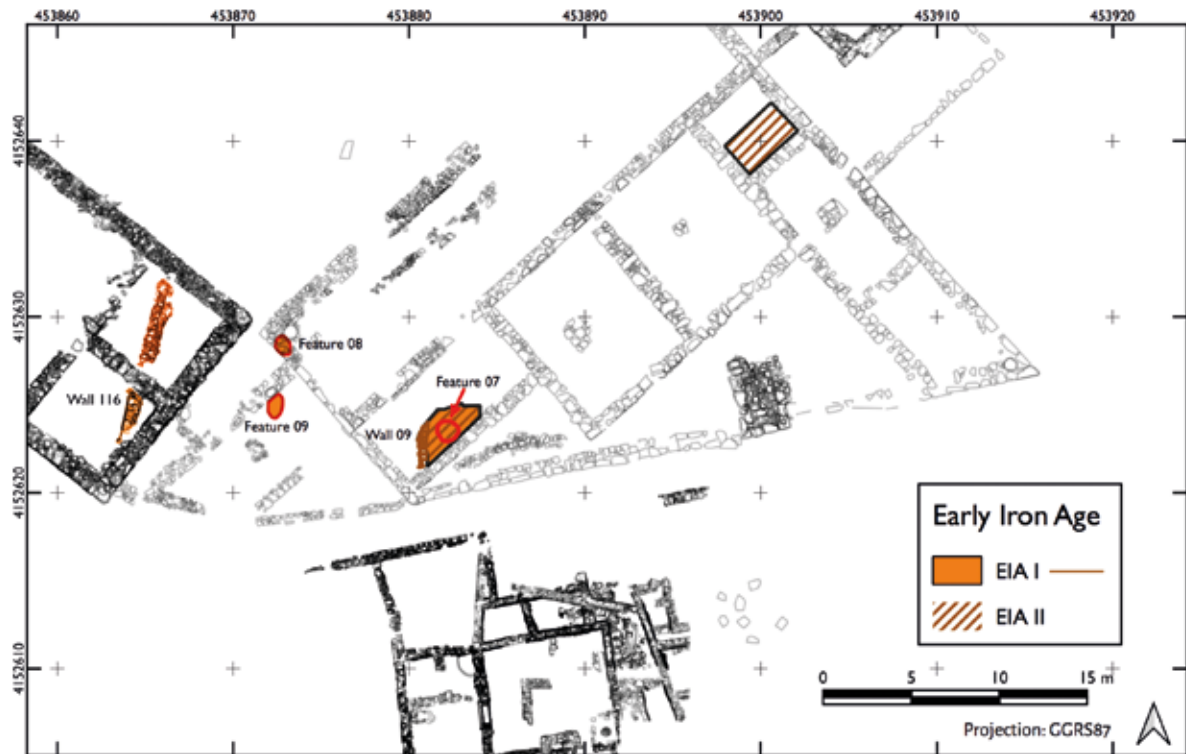


Fig. 5. Plan of Early Iron Age contexts and architectural remains. By R. Rönnlund.

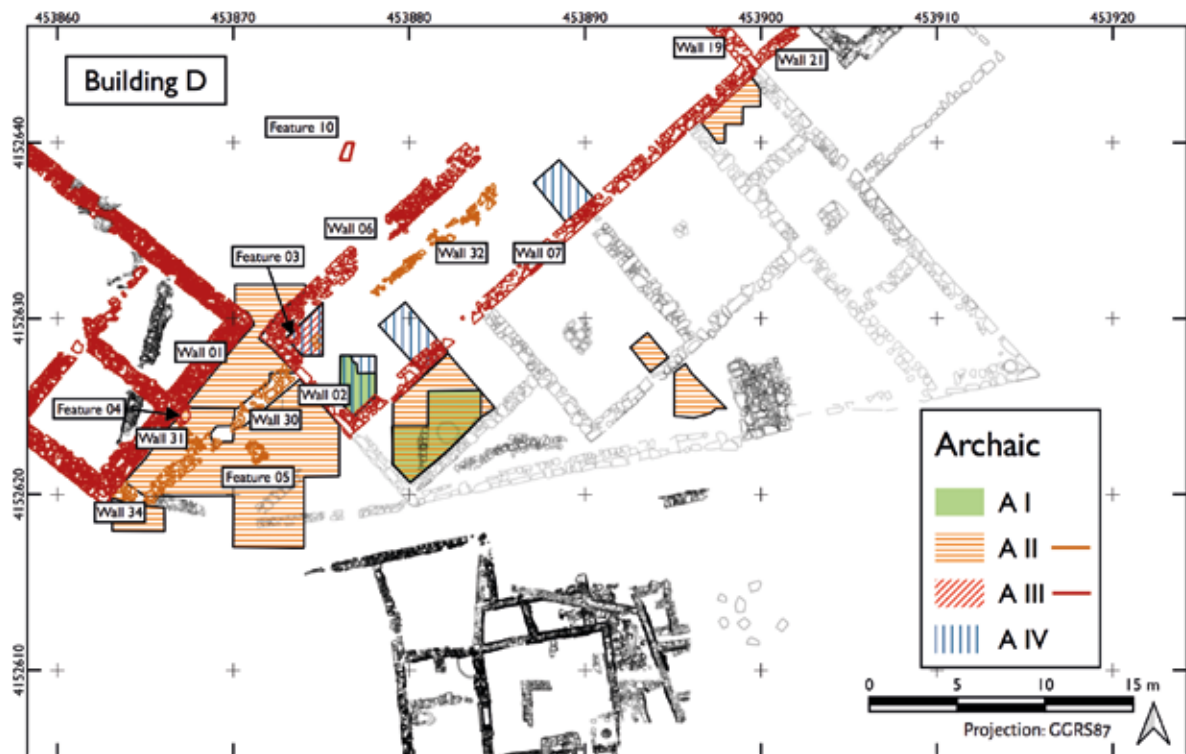


Fig. 6. Plan of Archaic contexts and architectural remains. By R. Rönnlund.



Fig. 7. Photograph of Feature 05 by C. Mauzy.

dated to the first half of the 6th century BC. The stratum that defines the horizon underneath Building D, where it was effectively sealed off by later construction, has been described as clayey, hard packed, and containing lots small fragments of pottery, animal bones, and charcoal. In the area to the west of the later building and near the freestanding structure Feature 05, the strata that belong to the same horizon have the same characteristics but were found more disturbed and to contain materials datable all the way down to the Hellenistic period. This type of strata obviously accumulates slowly and probably includes residual material from repeated cleanups, and thus describes the use of an area over a long period of time. The finds in this particular horizon point strongly towards dining and perhaps preparing of foodstuffs in an outdoor setting.<sup>21</sup> As the stratigraphical horizon would seem to be spreading eastwards from the freestanding structure Feature 05, it is an attractive hypothesis to interpret it as an altar, and the feasting that obviously took place to the east of it as connected to some type of sacrifices at it, of which, however, only indirect evidence has survived. The soil cover around the feature is thin but it rests on bedrock, and among associated finds are fragments of miniature vessels, a complete miniature lamp and also a gold leaflet.<sup>22</sup> Further arguments for the interpretation are fragments of fig tree charcoal which were found associated with the structure. Branches of fig tree when burned produce a thick smoke which would be attractive at a sacrifice (for

Feature 05, see also below under “The Hellenistic and Roman periods”).

Fragments of roof tiles were found imbedded in one of the walls that have been ascribed to phase A II.<sup>23</sup> This would suggest the existence of structures with tiled roofs in the sanctuary already during the early part of the 6th century BC. The walls themselves were soon replaced by later Archaic walls, and have been interpreted as parts of terrace walls rather than foundations of a building.<sup>24</sup>

The subsequent A III phase is represented by architectural features which are necessarily later than phase A II and necessarily earlier than phase A IV. These are Walls 02, 06, 07, and 19 which form the Stoa D, and the two interconnected cisterns, Features 03 and 04. We have tentatively also ascribed the kiln, Feature 10, found in Area D16 in 2005,<sup>25</sup> to this phase. Equally tentatively, the strata which basically consisted of crushed purple shells, in Areas D05 and D04, are placed in the same phase, even if this cannot be verified any further.

The contemporaneity of Walls 02, 06, 07, and 19 and therefore the whole existence of Stoa D was questioned in the reports published after the excavations conducted in the area in 1999–2000, and in 2003–2005.<sup>26</sup> In a more recent study, Jari Pakkanen argues for the existence of the stoa and a date in the Late Archaic period due to similar building techniques in all four walls which are built on bedrock.<sup>27</sup> Stoa D would then be contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous with the entrance building, Building E, which has also been dated to the Late Archaic period, contrary to a date in the Late Classical period which has been suggested earlier.<sup>28</sup> The two interconnected cisterns can be seen as an integral part of the architectural design of the buildings: Feature 04 immediately to the south of Building E was used to collect rainwater from the roofs of the same building and Stoa D, whereas Feature 03 inside the stoa was simply used to draw water from the cistern system.<sup>29</sup>

The construction of monumental buildings in the sanctuary would thus seem to have started simultaneously in the western part of it with the construction of Building E and Stoa D and in the north-east with the construction of the Temple of Poseidon and the *peribolos* wall around it, contrary to the views presented in earlier studies of the architecture at the site.<sup>30</sup> All buildings display similar raw materials and building

<sup>21</sup> The type of vessels are compatible with dining, and the mammal bones, which are characterized by taxonomic variety and the presence of burning and cut marks, are of the type commonly associated with food waste. See Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 76–77; Mylona 2019. This interpretation is discussed in several of the reports on the basis of each category of finds.

<sup>22</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 69–73.

<sup>23</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 76.

<sup>24</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 40–41.

<sup>25</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 84–85.

<sup>26</sup> Wells *et al.* 2005, 139, 180; 2006–2007, 41.

<sup>27</sup> Pakkanen forthcoming.

<sup>28</sup> Paulson forthcoming.

<sup>29</sup> Pakkanen forthcoming; cf. Klingborg 2017, 112.

<sup>30</sup> Wide & Kjellberg 1895, 280–281; Welter 1941, 43–50; Wells *et al.* 2003, 49–51.

techniques. Unlike Wide and Kjellberg, we consider Building E thanks to its monumentality as an entrance to the *temenos* of Poseidon, and not to an agora. Phase A III obviously is a construction phase, datable to the decades around 500 BC, and thus responsible for much of the dispersal of the earlier Archaic finds.<sup>31</sup> At such a large-scale construction different types of building materials would have been needed at the site. The remains of a kiln (Feature 10) found immediately to the north of Stoa D, which we suggest was used to fire roof tiles, as well as the concentrations of crushed purple shells found in the same area, have therefore been ascribed to the same phase with the construction of the buildings.<sup>32</sup>

Finally, phase A IV is the life span of the buildings constructed in phase A III. As we have seen, doubts have been expressed earlier about the mere existence on Stoa D as well as whether it was still standing when the trapezoidal back part was added to it in the late 4th century BC. The present evidence would suggest that the stoa existed from the Late Archaic period and onwards, and was still standing in the 4th century BC.<sup>33</sup> The finds from this phase are few especially if compared with those from phase A II. An explanation is perhaps that we are now dealing with activities in a built environment and not in an outdoor setting, and regular removal of debris was probably practised.

#### THE LATE CLASSICAL/EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIOD (FIG. 8)

The main feature during this chronological phase is the construction of the back part of Building D simultaneously with the construction of Stoa C (Building C) to the east of it. This phase is obviously the next big construction phase in the sanctuary after the buildings completed around 500 BC. Finds in the fill brought in to the building site in order to raise the ground level suggest a date near 325 BC for the phase designated C I.<sup>34</sup> The subsequent C II is a long-term activity phase, dated after 325 BC, and defined by the finds in the dirt floors of Building D.

Adding a series of back rooms to an existing stoa is obviously a so-far unique feature in ancient Greek architecture.<sup>35</sup> As the ground level behind the Archaic Stoa D had a steep slope towards the south, huge amounts of construction fill

were necessarily brought in to the site in order to raise the ground level in the back rooms, which according to Pakkanen remained c. 0.5 m below the floor level inside the stoa even after the construction had finished. The new part of the building could obviously be entered through openings made into the back wall of the stoa, but its main entrance was through a staircase designated Feature 06 in the south into an open courtyard. From the staircase, a ramp led towards a freestanding square platform to the north-east. The central rooms of the building could be entered through doorways which do not survive but can be reconstructed from photographs taken during the excavations in 1894. The placing of the doorways is off-centre, and inside the rooms, bedded pebbles along the walls and paving slabs in the centre of the westernmost room would suggest the existence of *klinai*, and perhaps platforms for a portable hearth in both rooms.<sup>36</sup> The two rooms in the centre of the building were undoubtedly dining rooms, whereas the functions of the two smaller rooms, and that of the freestanding platform in the open courtyard in the south-east of the building remain open, as basically no finds can be directly associated with them.

Phase C II is the floor level in the westernmost of the dining rooms in Building D, which as we have seen is c. 0.5 m below the floor level inside the stoa. The floor accumulation was only found preserved in patches around the paving in the centre of the room (Feature 01), which we think once supported a portable hearth.<sup>37</sup> The finds include fragments from both full-size and miniature cooking vessels, whereas the organic finds were largely non-existent. It would seem likely that the building had already been excavated to its floor level in 1894, and that most of the organic materials within it have probably been destroyed from exposure since then.

The overall function of Building D remains somewhat enigmatic, as a majority of the finds recovered during the excavations in the area did not highlight activities in the building itself but nearby, and in some instances also activities that took place before any part of the building was even erected. During its life span the building had a transitional character. It was possible to move through it from the ground level outside the sanctuary to the much higher level in the open space in its middle. The building is an integral part of the sanctuary's design, yet its main entrance is from outside. The main function of the building was obviously dining as it can be argued that both central rooms in the building were dining rooms with *klinai* along the walls and a setting for a portable hearth in the middle. It has been suggested that the freestanding platform in the open courtyard in the south-eastern part of the building

<sup>31</sup> For the dispersal of the earlier Archaic materials in conjunction with the construction at the site in the late 6th century BC, see also Alexandridou 2013, 143.

<sup>32</sup> Purple shells can be used to produce lime or possibly as temper (e.g. Alfaro & Mylona 2014, 160 n. 115).

<sup>33</sup> Pakkanen (forthcoming) argues from the alignment of the façade of the 4th-century Stoa C which is similar to that of Stoa D.

<sup>34</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 60–76.

<sup>35</sup> Pakkanen forthcoming.

<sup>36</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 53–54; 2006–2007, 86. Similar slabs were located in the centre of the eastern room when the area was cleaned in 2012.

<sup>37</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 53–54; 2006–2007, 86–87.



Fig. 8. Plan of Late Classical/Early Hellenistic contexts and architectural remains. By R. Rönnlund.

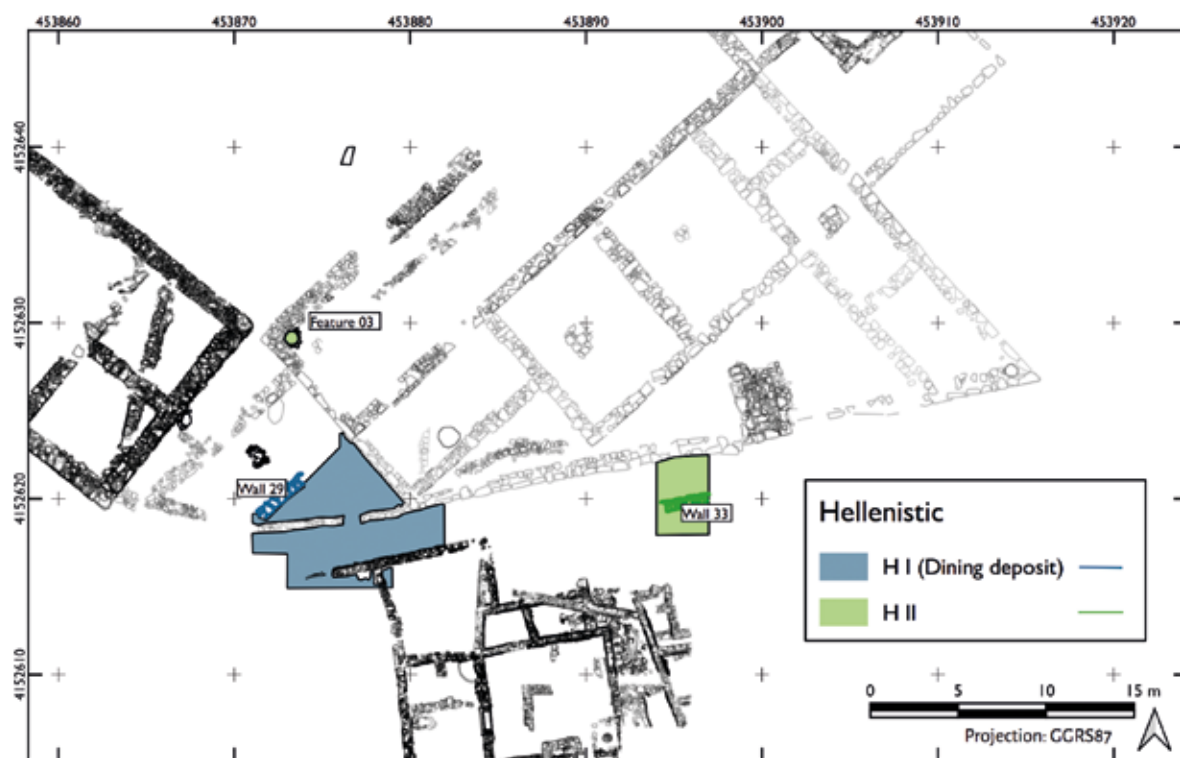


Fig. 9. Plan of Mid- to Late Hellenistic/Early Roman contexts and architectural remains. By R. Rönnlund.





Fig. 10. Photograph of the area of the "dining deposit", by C. Mauzy.

could be an altar (Feature 02). This cannot be verified, however, as virtually no finds could be associated with the structure were recovered.<sup>38</sup>

#### THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS (FIG. 9)

The most spectacular finds from the area of Building D belong to the later Hellenistic and Roman periods. Phase H I consists of the Hellenistic "dining deposit" found to the west of Building D within the triangle formed by Walls 04 and 29 and dated to *c.* 165 BC (Fig. 10). Material belonging to a Late Hellenistic/Early Roman phase, H II, was found in Area D07 to the south of Wall 11 and in the fill of a cistern, Feature 03, in Area D04 (Fig. 11).

The interpretation of the activities in the area immediately to the west of Building D depends to a high degree on whether the freestanding structure in its midst, Feature 05 (Figs. 6 and 7), can be interpreted as an altar that remained in use from the early part of the 6th century all the way down to the Hellenistic times. We choose to do so, given the prominent location of the feature and given what went on in its vicinity over time. Arguing along these lines, the altar existed long before the erection of any of the buildings in the area. After the construction of the Archaic monumental buildings E and D, it was located next to the entrance to the *temenos* of Poseidon. Towards the end of the 4th century BC when a series of back rooms was added to the existing Stoa D, the area around Feature 05 was fenced in by the building of Wall 04 as if the idea had been to include the feature in the *temenos* of Poseidon, alternatively to create it a *temenos* of its own. The enclosure could be entered from the south through an opening in the



Fig. 11. Photograph of the cistern, Feature 03, by C. Mauzy.

wall.<sup>39</sup> The repeated adjustments to the shifting design of the spaces around the suggested altar may explain the scarcity of organic finds directly related to its function.

Around 165 BC the enclosure was divided in two halves by the construction of Wall 29 to the south of Feature 05, and large amounts of debris, obviously from a particularly important feast in or near the sanctuary, were subsequently buried within the triangular area between the Walls 04 and 29. The contents of the deposition are of great interest as they convey a full picture of what could be consumed during a feast in the 2nd century BC.<sup>40</sup>

Later Hellenistic and Early Roman materials were recovered from the fill in the Archaic cistern Feature 03, and in a trench excavated in Area D07 against the southernmost Wall 11 of Building D. The soil cover in the last mentioned area was generally thin, and the finds from there may therefore originate in activities immediately to the south and south-west of the area, where a building complex with a life span from at least the 4th century BC to *c.* 100 AD was excavated between 2007 and 2012. One of the building's main phases coincides with the phase, designated H II here. It is a long-term activity phase, and has been dated from *c.* 50 BC to *c.* AD 100.

The finds in the fill of the cistern Feature 03 belong to the same phase, even though their deposition can rather be described as a one-time event that occurred towards the end of the phase. The cistern was excavated to a depth of almost 3 m from the surface, at which point the work was halted due to risk of collapse.<sup>41</sup> The contents of the fill consisted to a very

<sup>38</sup> Wells *et al.* 2003, 60, figs. 34, 35.

<sup>39</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 43–44, fig. 17.

<sup>40</sup> The meaning of the deposition of food remains in the border area of the sanctuary is discussed in Pakkanen 2008, 250–255, and the marine aspects of the finds in Mylona 2008, 92–97; Mylona 2014; 2015; forthcoming.

<sup>41</sup> Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 89–94.



Fig. 12. Plan of the excavated areas and architectural remains in the area of Building C. By R. Rönnlund.

large part of zooarchaeological remains which are analysed in the papers by Mylona, Dale Serjeantson, Petros Lymberakis and Giorgos Iliopoulos, and George E. Syrides in this volume. The ceramic finds were few, which makes dating of the deposit cumbersome. The glass fragments would seem to postdate the pottery<sup>42</sup> but as they were only found high up the fill, they could possibly derive from a later episode.<sup>43</sup> The deposition of the other materials found in the cistern is here treated as a one-time event and not as random disposal of waste.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Pers. comm. Dominic Ingemark.

<sup>43</sup> The contents of the fill in the interconnected cistern, Feature 04 (see Fig. 6), are currently under study. They are largely similar to the fill in Feature 03, but the much more plentiful pottery in Feature 04 clearly predates the glass found in the top stratum of Feature 03. This would seem to strengthen the argument for the glass deposition being a result of a later event at the site.

<sup>44</sup> The contents of the deposit and their meaning has been discussed in Pakkanen 2008, 250–255; Mylona 2013.

## Area of Building C (Fig. 12)

Excavations conducted in Area C proved far less productive, as it turned out that especially the interior of the building had been thoroughly excavated in 1894. Well-preserved archaeological strata were found in trenches excavated against the back wall of the building (Wall 25) in Areas C04 and C05 (Fig. 3). The finds in them correspond roughly with the phase designated C I in the adjoining Building D, which suggests that Building C and the extension of Building D were constructed simultaneously or at least not too far apart in time.<sup>45</sup>

Excavation in Area C06 proved that Wall 24, which was built over when Building C was constructed, is indeed of similar Late Archaic date as Wall 07, the back wall of Stoa D. Both can be placed in the phase designated A II in the Area of Building D. As Wall 49, excavated in Area H in 2007–2008 (see Fig. 2), is of similar date and of similar masonry, it seems likely that three walls formed parts of the perimeter of the sanctuary in Late Archaic times when the temple and its *peribolos* wall were

<sup>45</sup> Hjohlman in Wells *et al.* 2006–2007, 113–114.

also constructed.<sup>46</sup> Excavations in Areas C03 and C08 against Wall 28 produced strata that can be assigned to the phases A II, A III, and C I. The wall itself could be dated to the earlier phase and was possibly a retaining wall to Wall 24.

The project *Physical Environment and Daily Life in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia (Poros)* was envisioned and directed by the late Berit Wells. Her guiding idea was that the study of bioarchaeological remains found in a sanctuary had a great potential towards enhancing our knowledge of Ancient Greek religion. The papers in the section below are dedicated to her memory and aim at proving her right.

ARTO PENTTINEN  
Swedish Institute at Athens  
Mitsaion 9  
11742 Athens, Greece  
arto.penttinen@sia.gr

DIMITRA MYLONA  
INSTAP Study Center for East Crete  
E. Daskalaki 59  
74 100 Rethymno, Greece  
dmylona@hotmail.com

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<sup>46</sup> Penttinen *et al.* 2009, 94; Alexandridou 2013, 81–83, fig. 1.

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